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National and State
Politics.
Speech of Hon. H. G. Davis.
August, 1874.

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SPEECH OF HON. H. G. DAVIS

In Mineral County Convention, on Saturday, August 15th, 1874.

Fellow-Citizens and Friends:—You have just been addressed by the Hon. C. J. Faulkner, one of the most distinguished men of the State or country. He has made a speech worthy of himself and the Democratic party. His remarks on civil rights deserve special notice. I have heard nearly all the speeces in the Senate on this subject—none excelles the one just made. This is one of the largest county Conventions I have ever attended. It is pleasant for me to meet and talk to so many of those who first honored me with their confidence by electing me a member of the lower branch of the Legislature of this State in 1865, and that at a time when the party was in a political minority. From that time you have constantly favored me, by electing me to the Senate of the State, until the year when the Legislature of the State elected me one of your Representatives in the National Councils. And I desire now to express my gratitude for the confindence you have so freequently and generously reposed in me. You know that it is not my habit to make lengthy speeches. But I feel constrained at this time, in response to numerous calls that have been made upon me, to depart from my usual custom. If you will, therefore bear with me, I will endeavor to give you some account of the way national affairs are conducted under Republican rule, and some thoughts in reference to the policy and future prospects of the Democratic party of this State.

You and I will have work to do between now and the October election. A thorough organization should be had, and a thorough canvass made if you wish to accomplish an overwhelming victory. It is not enough in time of war to organize an army and appoint competent generals to command it, and then content yourselves with dress-parades. It will not do to content yourselves with the thought, that because of a superiority of numbers, all you have to do is to exhibit your numbers and await the surrender of the enemy. You must not expect our opponents to march into your camp and deliver up their arms without a struggle. If you expect victory, you must be aggressive. You must expose their trickery and deceit. You must show our superiority as a party in point of morals, and an economical administration of affairs. To do this successfully you must be armed with official facts and figures. I have

taken some pains to collect together some facts and figures connected with the administration of public affairs by the Republicans, both National and State, and if you will bear with me while I tresspass on your patience, I will endeavor to present them to you.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

And I will first call your attention to what is known as Sumner's Civil Rights Bill, because this is the most iniquitous of all the iniquities that the Republicans are endeavoring to foist upon the people, and if continued in power they will perpetrate this disgrace as certainly as night succeeds day. The bill is sweeping in its provisions and the penalties attached for any violation of the law, are of the severest character. The first section of this infamous bill, as it passed the Senate, reads as follows:

"That all citizens and other persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and priviliges of public conveyances on land or water, theatres or other public places of amusement, and also of the common schools and public institutions of learning or benevolence, supported in whole or in part by general taxation, and of cemeteries so supported, and also institutions known as aggricultural colleges endowed by the United States, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by the law and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color regardless of any previous condition of servitude."

The second section provides a penalty of $500 and costs to be paid the aggrieved party, and further makes any violation of the provisions of the first section, a misdemeanor, punishable with a fine of not more than $1,000—or imprisonment not more than one year.

The third section gives the district and circuit courts of the United States exclusive cognizance of all violations of the provisions of this act. Thus depriving the State Courts of all power in the premises.

The fourth section provides that no person shall be disqualified on account of color, previous condition, &c., from serving as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, and make the failure of any officer who excludes such person from such service, a misdemeanor, punishable with $1,000 fine.

The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 29 to 16—almost two to one. And yet when it was introduced in the Senate, it met with hardly any countenance or favor. But finding their power continued, the leader of the Republican party concluded to father this infamy, and so pulled the party lines, and the obedient rank and file obeying the command, the bill was rushed through. The Democracy made a vigerous effort to prevent the passage of this fraud upon the people, but being in a hopeless minority, they could do nothing but stave it off as long as possible. They showed the unconstitutionality of the act; they argued against its impractibility; they implored the Radicals to refrain from this crowning indignity upon the Southern and border States, but all in vain. Thenthey tried to delay, by resorting to every parliamentary tactic possible, but the Republicans were too strong for them, and after an all day and night's session they succeeded in putting on the gag law and forcing its passage. This bill, it is true, has not yet passed the House, but it failed simply for want of a sufficient number of votes to suspend the rules and put it upon its passage. The Republicans voted for this suspension almost to a man, but fortunately, by calling the yeas and nays, &c., the Democrats were enabled to defeat the bill for the present. But it is on the calendar in such a position that it can be called up for passage at any day next session the Republican party may choose. Its final passage depends in my opinion, on the results of the elections this fall. If the Republicans are successful the bill will be passed, because the Republican representatives will take their success as an endorsement of the measure by the people. If, however, the manhood of the country rises up against this petty persecution; if the Democracy exert themselves to action, and through the ballot box, by the election of true men opposed to negro supremacy, Cæsarism and nepotism, notify the Republican party that its tenure of power is held by but a slender thread, and that the people will not stand this infringement upon their rights, the bill will probably die an early death as it should. And even if they can secure a majority in the lower branch of Congress, they can by an united effort destroy the large majority heretofore had by the Republicans, and check

to a large extent, the growing tendencies of the Republican party in the direction I have named.

The strongest objection to this bill—although the whole bill is utterly objectionable in all its parts—is its bearing on the common school system of the Southern and border States. The whole hope of the rising generation is in the common school system. It is with great difficulty that large classes of people in these States, once in affluent circumstances, are enabled to provide the necessaries of life, let alone send their children off to costly schools. Already the mere impending shadow of this bill has cast its gloom, and is retarding the school systems of many of these States. If this bill passes, the school system will be utterly ruined, and there will be no general school appropriations, except here and there. What think those of you who earn your living by "the sweat of your brow," and to whom the common free schools of this State are a priceless boon, enabling you to educate your children, and give them a start in life, of the party that attempts to force such a bill as this down the throat of the public school system, and thus strangle it to death? Even the probability of its passage has done an immense amount of harm. I notice in the papers that the State Superintendent of Tennessee has already issued a circular addressed to the county superintendents, &c., throughout the State, advising that no new contracts with teachers of either white or colored schools be entered into by school directors, until the fate of this bill be determined. The passage of this bill would be the greatest calamity that could possibly befall the colored people themselves. For it will not only deprive the children of poor white people of an education, for all time to come but those of the colored people also. The wealthy, of course, will not suffer, because they can patronize private schools.

And just here, I will add testimony from a Radical source: Senator W. G. Brownlow, commonly known as Parson Brownlow, and who has been, and is, identified with the Republican party as one of its most radical members, in a letter addressed to Rev. Dr. Bartlett, President of the Maryville College, Tennessee, in reference to the passage of this bill, denounces the measure in unqualified terms, and says the bill might appropriately be termed "A bill for the encouragement of riot and chaos in the Southern States, and for the humiliation of the widows, and the oppression of the orphans of the South."

But these are not all the evils. A feeling of returning loyalty which was growing in the South, will die out, and one of hostility to the Government will take its place.

Another evil that would result from this bill, if a law is its possible effect upon the minds of 800,000 ignorant voters, in spreading delusions as to the powers and duty of Congress, and as to the means by which social equality is to be obtained. For it teaches and leads to social equality, as well as political equality, turn it which way you may. And that this is the purpose of those who are pressing this bill may be inferred from the speeches of some of the prominent advocates of it in the Senate and elsewhere. As a sample I quote from a speech delivered in the Senate by Senator Boutwell, on the 21st of May, on this bill:

"A system of public instruction supported by general taxation is security, first, for the prevalence and continuance of those ideas of equality which lead every human being to recognize every other human being as an equal in all natural and political rights; and the only way by which those ideas can be made universal is to bring together in public schools, during the former period of life, the children of all classes, and educate them together.

"The public school is an epitome of life, and in it children are taught so that they understand those relations and conditions of life which, if not acquired in childhood and youth, are not likely afterwards to be gained. To say as is the construction placed upon so much of this bill as I propose to strike out, that equal facilities shall be given in different schools, is to rob your system of public instruction of that quality by which our people, without regard to race or color, shall be assimilated in ideas, personal, and public, so that when they arrive at the period of manhood they shall act together upon public questions with ideas formed under the same influences, &c."

Mr. Botwell's effort was to enforce such close associations of the races, especially in the primary schools, that they would learn to love one another; that by early contact, the repugnace of one race to the other might be overcome, and that in time they might be pre-

pared for the great consumation by which the two alien races may be mixed in one.

And again: A convention of colored men was held in Washington last winter to take national acton in reference to this bill, and one of their prominent members and orators, a Mr. Clark of Ohio, addressed the convention thereon. To show what these people demand as their right, I quote from his speech: "We want no colored schools; we want no white schools; what we want is free schools for every one. We want the white children of the land to have the privilege of setting by the side of the colored children in our schools, that these prejudices may be overcome in early life." This extract is taken from a report of the proceedings, published in the Washington *Chronicle*; a Republican newspaper.

Why the Republicrn party should deem it necessary to the peace and happiness of the colored race to force mixed chools upon the people, I cannot imagine or conjecture. If it is intended as a further punishment to the Southern and border States, it will fall far short of its mark, because it will not effect the present generation—I mean the older portion, of course,—but it will debar the thousands of children of these States, black as well as white, from the advantage of a free school education. And it may be noticed in this connection, that there are over a million of colored children now receiving free school instruction.

As another illustration of the beauties of civil rights, I quote from the constitutions of several Southern States the provisions as to schools, voting &c., and it will be remembered that these provisions were made a precedent of the *admission into the Union* of these States, by a Radical Congress, and the act admitting these States provides that these provisions in their constitutions shall not be changed, except by and with the consent of Congress. The quotations in relation to schools are as follows:

Louisiana—The General Assembly shall establish at least one free public school in every parish throughout the State, and shall provide for its support by taxation and otherwise. All children of this State, between the ages of six (6) and twenty-one (21) shall be admitted to the public schools or other institutions of learning sustained or established by the State in common, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition. There shall be no sperate schools or institutions of learning established exclusively for any race by the State of Louisiana. *Article* 135, *Constitution*.

North Carolina—The General Assembly, at its first session under this constitution, shall provide, by taxation and otherwise, for a general and uniform system of public schools, wherein tuition shall be free of charge to *all* the children of the State between the age of six (6) and twenty-one (21) years. *Sec.* 2, *Art.* IX, *Constitution*.

Florida—It is the paramount duty of the State to make ample provision for the education of *all* the children residing within its borders, without distinction or preference. *Sec.* 1, *Art.* VIII, *Constitution*.

The Legislature shall provide a uniform system of common schools, and a university, and shall provide for the liberal maintenance of the same. Instruction in them shall be free. *Sec.* 2 *of same*.

Georgia—The General Assembly at its fiast session after the adoption of this constitution, shall provide a thorough system of general education, to be *forever free to all* children of the State, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation or otherwise. *Sec.* 1, *Art.* IV, *Constitution*.

South Carolina—It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the *compulsory attendance*, at either public or private schools, *of all* children between the ages of six (6) and sixteen (16) years not phisically or mentally disabled, for a term equivalent to twenty-four (24) months, at least; *Provided*, That no law to that effect shall be passed until a system of public schools has been thoroughly and completely organized and facilities afforded to all the inhabitants of the State for the free education of their children. *Sec.* 4, *Art.* X, *Constitution*.

All the public schools, colleges and universities of this State, supported in whole or in part by the public funds, shall be free and open to *all* the children and youths of the State, without regard to *race* or color. *Sec.* 10 *of same*.

Arkansas—A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence among all classes being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the General Assembly shall establish and mantain a system of free schools for the gratuitous instruction of *all* persons in this State between the ages of five (5) and

twenty-one (21) years. *Sec.* 1, *Art.* IX, *Constitution.*

"The *General Assembly shall require by law that every child of sufficient mental and physical ability shall attend* the public schools during the period between the ages of five (5) and eighteen (18) years, for a term equivalent to three years, unless educated by other means. *Sec.* 6, *Art.* IX, *of same.*

ALABAMA—It shall be the duty of the board to establish, throughout the State, in each township, or other school district which it may have created, one or more schools, at which *all* the children of the State between the ages of five (5) and twenty-one (21) years, may attend free of charge. *Sec.* 6, *Art.* XI, *Constitution.*

Those in relation to voting, &c., are as follows:

ALABAMA—"All persons before registering must take and subscribe the following oath: 'I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) * * * * * * that I accept the civil and political equality of all men, and agree not to attempt to deprive any person or persons, on account of race, color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege, or immunity enjoyed by any other class of men," etc. *Constitution, Art.* VII, *Sec.* 4.

ARKANSAS—"*All* persons before *registering* or *voting*, must take and subscribe the following oath: 'I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) * * * * * * that I accept the civil and political equality of all men, and agree not to attempt to deprive any person or persons, on account of race, color or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege or immunity enjoyed by any other class of men,'" etc. *Constitution, Art.* VIII, *Sec.* 5.

MISSISSIPPI—"The Legislature shall provide, by law, for the registration of all persons entitled to vote at any election, and all persons entitled to register shall take and subscribe to the following oath or affirmation: 'I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm,) in the presence of Almighty God, * * * that I *admit* the *political* and civil equality of all men. So help me God." *Constitution, Art.* VII, *Sec.* 3.

VIRGINIA—"All persons, before entering upon the discharge of any functions as officers of this State, must take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: 'I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) * * * * * that I recognize and accept the *civil* and *political* equality of all men before the law, etc. So help me God. *Constitution, Art.* III, *Sec.* 6.

LOUISIANA—"Members of the General Assembly, and all other officers, before they enter upon the duties of their offices, shall take the following oath or affirmation: 'I, (A. B.,) do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I accept the *civil* and *political* equality of all men, and agree not to attempt to deprive any person, or persons, on account of race, color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privileges, or immunity enjoyed by any other class of men, etc. So help me God.'" *Constitution, Title* VI, *Art.* 100.

So you will see nearly all the Constitutions of these Southern States are based on this idea of negro equality, and an oath to support them is made a condition more or less of citizenship under them. Therefore, no citizen from the north, east or west, not in favor of negro equality, can move to any of these States, as reconstructed by Congress, without disfranchising himself. Even a Union man, unless he swore that he believed a negro to be his equal, could not vote in one of these States. But I must hasten on to another effort that is being made in this direction. I refer to what is known as

HOAR'S SCHOOL BILL.

This is a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Hoar, a Radical from Massachusetts, and he has given it the lofty title of, "A bill to establish a system of national education." I have not time to discuss this bill in all its bearings, and so must content myself with reading portions of it, which must fully explain its meaning. It will be seen that the purport of the bill is to take away from the States the right to control their own schools, and to place them under national control, and for the purpose of keeping them in operation and paying the numerous officials. A direct tax of *fifty* millions of dollars is provided for in the bill.

The sections and parts of sections I refer to, are as follows:

A Bill to Establish a System of National Education.

That there shall be *appointed by the President*, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, within and for each State, a State Superintendent of National Schools, who shall receive a salary of *three thousand dollars per annum*, and who shall hold office for the term of four years from the date of his appointment, unless sooner removed by the President.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the State superintendent shall divide his State into as many divisions of convenient size as the number of representatives in Congress to which said State is entitled, which divisions shall be the same as the districts into which said State shall be divided for the choice of representatives, unless for special reasons it shall seem advisable otherwise to divide the State. The Secretary of the Interior shall appoint for each of said divisions a division inspector of national schools, who shall reside within said division, and who shall hold his office until removed by the Secretary of the Interior, and who shall receive a salary of *two thousand dollars per annum*.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That said divisions shall be divided by the State Superintendent into school districts of convenient size, having reference to the number of children dwelling therein, and their convenience in attending school. The Secretary of the Interior shall appoint some suitable person to be local superintendent of national schools within said district. The compensation of said local superintendent shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior by such general regulations as he shall prescribe.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That such number of schools shall be kept in each district as the State superintendent shall direct; *Provided*, That there shall be opportunity afforded to *every child* dwelling therein between the ages of six and eighteen to attend school for at least six months in each year, subject to such regulations and restrictions as shall be necessary for the discipline of the schools.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of every local superintendent to select the place for the school house within his district, which he shall purchase or hire in the name of the United States. No contract for such purchase or hire shall be concluded without the written approbation of the State superintendent. In case no suitable place can be obtained with the *consent* of the *owner*, the division inspector may appropriate a tract of such purpose by filing a description of the same, by metes and bounds, in the clerk's office of the district court of the United States wherein the same is situated, together with an estimate of the damages caused to any person by taking the same, which appropriation and estimate shall be first approved by the State superintendent and shall then be recorded by said clerk in a book to be kept for that purpose. From the date of said filing, the title of said tract of land shall vest in the United States.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the school books to be used in all the national schools shall be such as are prescribed by the said superintendent, under the direction of the Commissioner of Education. They shall be furnished by the State superintendent to the division inspector, and by the latter to the local inspector, for the children within his district, and by him distributed to them at cost; *Provided*, That if any child is unable to pay the cost of the books needed and used by it the same shall be furnished gratuitously.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the local superintendent to provide for the care and protection and repair of the school houses, and to procure fuel therefor, where necessary. If it shall be necessary to erect a school house in any district, the local superintendent shall contract for the same, the contract therefor to receive the approbation of the State superintendent before it shall be binding.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the local superintendent shall select and contract with the teacher or teachers for the schools within his district, at a rate and for a period of time to be approved by the State Superintendent.

In the performance of all the duties provided by this act, the local superintendent shall be subject to the directions of the division inspector, the division inspector to those of the State Superintendent, and the State superintendent shall be subject to the directions of the Commissioner of Education.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the Commissioner of Education shall annually report to Congress the condition of the national schools in each State, together with such suggestions concerning the same as he shall deem important. *He* shall also, from time to time, *prescribe* such rules as he shall think fit for the government of the State and local superintendents and division inspectors in accomplishing the purpose of this act.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe such rules, in conformity to law, as shall in his judgment be necessary to provide for the payment of teachers for land, school houses, and other ob-

jects herein provided for; and may require such vouchers from any of the officers herein provided for as may be necessary to insure security in the application of moneys so paid.

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That a direct tax of *fifty* millions of dollars is hereby laid upon the United States, and the same shall be proportioned among the States, respectively, in the manner following:

SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That the said tax shall be assessed and collected in the mode prescribed for the collection of the direct tax in the forty-fifth chapter of the acts of the first session of the thirty-seventh Congress and the acts in addition thereto; *Provided*, That the assessors and collectors who are now, or may hereafter be, charged by law with the duty of assessing or collecting the internal revenue shall assess and collect the tax herein provided, and the collection districts for the assessment and collection of the direct tax shall be the same as are now, or may hereafter be, established for the assessment and collection of said revenue. The dwelling house and lot of land on which the same stands, constituting the homestead of any householder having a family, and actually owned by him or her, shall be exempted from such tax to the value of one thousand dollars.

If this bill becomes a law, by the same principle Congress can supervise your county affairs, and place your county roads and bridges under the supervision of a detailed officer of the U. S. engineer corps. It can superintend the laying of your levies, and appoint your justices and constables, and fix their compensation. If this passes there is no telling when and where Congress will stop.

As an instance of the determination of these Radicals to regulate our State affairs, I make one more quotation, the object of which is patent to all. On the 25th of May last, Mr. Stewart, a Radical Senator from Navada, introduced the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to be known as the Sixteenth Amendment:

Article XVI. "If any State shall fail to maintain a common school system, under which all persons between the ages of five and eighteen years not incapacitated for the same shall receive, free of charge, such elementary education as Congress may prescribe, the Congress shall have power to establish therein such a system, and cause the same to be maintained at the expense of such State."

This was read twice and referred to the Judiciary Committee, where it now remains, awaiting the results of the elections this fall.

Let me turn your attention now for a short time to the condition of some of our Southern States, under Radical rule. And I'll first notice

LOUISIANA.

This State, with probably the exception of South Carolina, has suffered more largely at the hands of the party in power than any other. The condition of this once proud and prosperous State, is a disgrace to civilization, and a burning shame to our country. I will not have time to mention all the abuses and corruption that have brought this state of things about, but must content myself by giving you a few instances only.

I know you are all fully acquainted with the newspaper accounts of the infamies perpetrated in this State, under the administration of Durrell, Casey, Packard, Kellogg and their like, so it will not be necessary for me to go into a detailed account of the manner in which they have obtained control and are now controlling that State. Indeed I could not trespass on your time to do so, so I'll give but a brief resume of their crimes. There was a general election held in this State in November, 1872, for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, &c. This election was conducted without riot, disturbance or violence, and the number of votes cast was unusually large. The candidates for Governor were Wm. Pitt Kellogg and John McEnery. On the counting of the votes by the proper election officers it was found that the Greeley electoral ticket had carried the State, and that the fusion ticket, headed by McEnery for Governor and a majority of the fusion candidates for the Legislature had also been duly elected. This did not suit the carpet-baggers and cormorants who had fastened on that poor State, like so many leeches. A little life blood yet remained in the almost prostrated Commonwealth, and they determined to extract it all. Their motto was not "rule or ruin," but "rule and ruin," or "better *reign* in hell, than *serve* in Heaven." But the majority of votes was against them. Now the question arose, what is to be done about it? It did not take those unprincipled men long to find a way. The election laws of Louisiana were framed by carpet

baggers, solely to promote and cover up election frauds. Until the point of ascertaining and declaring the final result is reached, the Governor, for the time being, exercises almost arbitrary powers. But Governor Warmoth was about to give certificates to the parties regularly elected, and it wouldn't do to trust his Board. So they organized a bogus Board, with one John Lynch at the head of it, known as the "Lynch Board," and through their instrumentality, doctored the election returns and, assisted by thousands of false affidavits, furnished by Sypher, Bovee, and others, set aside the will and vote of the people, declared Kellogg elected Governor, and gave the electoral vote of the State to Gen. Grant. Although the returns showed that McEnery was elected by some 8,000 votes, yet this "Lynch Board" returned the majority of Kellogg at 18,000. But this was not all. The McEnery government, as it was called, having been legally elected, and being about to take control of the State, they found it necessary to counteract this move in some way. So they found a willing tool in Judge Durell of the Federal Court, in New Orleans. This judge, without a shadow of jurisdiction, at a late hour at night out of court, at his private residence, issued an order and stopped the McEnery Legislature from convening and organizing, and organized the Kellogg Legislature by a *mandamus* and injunction. And he did this by the aid of federal bayonet; and that Kellogg government is to-day supported and kept in power by United State troops. The Kellogg government rest to-day, not upon the ascertained result of the election, but upon a canvass confessed to be fraudulent and void, and the support given to it by the federal government.

And now a few words as to the manner in which the bogus "Lynch Board" ascertained the result of the election. The Warmoth Board having possession of the legal returns, the Lynch Board was compelled to take whatever irregular returns it could get. Upon the plea that the votes of a large number of negroes had been refused, they called for affidavits of the fact, and they were supplied with thousands, signed by a mark, and with ballots attached. The man who performed this delightful and delicate duty of furnishing affidavits, was one Captain Jaques, from whose sworn testimony, given before the Congressional Investigating Committee, I will read you a few extracts. In answer to questions by the following gentlemen he gave the following answers:

Witness issued about 500 duplicate registration papers after the registration closed; on the day of election issued about 150 more; went to New Orleans after the election and then returned to sign affidavits; signed the names of 300 persons to the affidavits.

By Mr. Carpenter—Did not sign them in the presence of the parties; they authorized him to sign.

By Governor Warmoth—Signed 1,314 affidavits in all; took the names of all but 300 from the poll list; the Commissioner signed the affidavits in blank.

By Mr. Carpenter—Signed 1,000 names to 1,000 affidavits; many of the names were men of straw; can't tell how many names of existing persons he signed; presume he signed 150 names of existing parties without authority; did not know that it was forgery.

By Mr. Morton—Got the affidavits from General Sypher; signed them in New Orleans; got the 300 names by going from plantation to plantation; some said that they could not vote because there was such a crowd at the polls; others that the polls were from ten to thirty-five miles off, and they could not go to them; United States Marshall Prescott said to the men, attering the reading of the affidavivt, "You swear;" on the 10th of December received a letter from Sypher telling him to fetch down all the affidavits you have got, the General is 100 short; gave the affidavits to Mr. Bovee, who said, "Jaques, you're a hell of a fellow;" witness answered that he could get 'more by ten o'clock in the morning; told the General and Captain Sypher about the way the affidats were got and they approved it; General Sypher asked how many names were on the book; I (witness) answered 1,000; told him to get 3,500 affidavits; the day before Sypher went to Washington he told witness to get at least 1,200 affidavits and as many more as he could; when Sypher returned, he said he had done well; in '68 and 1870, at the polls, names were put on the registration lists for the purpose of electing Sypher; the parish was Democratic, it was common talk in the Custom house after the recent election that it did not make any difference how the election went, enough affidavits could be got to elect the ticket.

By Mr. Carpenter—The affidavits were printed ten or fifteen days before the election. (Exhibited a copy of affidavits signed by Prescott in blank.)

By Mr. Trumbull—Had about 2,000 such affidavits; they were signed at witnesse's house in New Orleans.

By Mr. Morton—Had no official station at that time; received no compensation for his work; had been in the Custom house, and Sypher and Casey promised to reinstate him; got $150 to pay for the boat he used from Sypher; it was the same boat used by the Republican Committee for party purposes.

Not satisfied with these forged affidavits the Lynch Board went to work to doctor the returns, such as they could get, and this is a sample of how they did it:

In the parish of Rossier the returns showed that McEnry had 953 votes and Kellogg 555. By their ciphering they gave Kellogg 1,159 votes, and McEnry none. In the parish of Natchitoches the returns showed that McEnry had 1,250, and Kellogg had 550. They ciphered again, and lo! and behold! Kellogg had 1,206 votes and McEnry—none. Was there ever such arithmeticians? Yet this board is not satisfied with even this nice way of electing their men. For, as the testimony in this case shows, the Board, not satisfied with the duplicate returns obtained from the United States officials; not satisfied with forged affidavits; not satisfied with newspaper accounts (which they used); made an estimate based on their (the Board's) knowledge of the political complexion of the country, as to what the vote ought to have been, if it had been fair, and counted it accordingly.

And yet in spite of all these facts being proven; in spite of the fact that the Republican Committee of Congress, headed by Governor Morton, as chairman, reported *unanimously* that McEnry received 7,000 majority, Kellogg, who was given control of that State by Durell's midnight order, has been sustained in his revolutionary proceedings by the general government and a Republican Congress. And he is to-day sustained and kept in power by Federal bayonets. The taxes of this State are about $4.75 on the $100 valuation. This is necessary in order to give the party reigning money to pay their tools and their own salaries, some of which are enormous—one official receiving over $100,000 per annum, and several others from $30,000 to $50,000. The expenses of the Legislature alone for one year including printing, amounted to over $1,000,000. But I must hurry on to other subjects, although I have not said a tithe scarcely of what could be said on these two matters alone. But I cannot leave this branch without referring briefly to another State in the South, scarcely less oppressed than Louisiana, I refer to

SOUTH CAROLINA.

I hardly have patience to state the transactions of the black and white scoundrels who are robbing the oppressed people of this State. The condition of this State is without parallel in the history of America or any other civilized government. There are men in public positions who cannot read or write, nor even sign their names, and have but little more conception of their duties than a hog of the botanical properties of the plants and shrubs he roots up. And this is the rule, not the exception. The whole government of this much to be pitied State is the most stupenduous farce in the world. That it is permitted to exist is a sin, a shame and a disgrace.

The Governor (what a misnomer?) of this State is a man named Moses. To show you how he manages the affairs of one of the sovereign States of the nation, I will give you an instance of his financial ability. He lately had occasion to raise $6,000 to help one of his newspaper organs. As the State treasury was in its usual state of emptiness, he had to have recourse to other sources. He, therefore, appointed an ignorant negro youth tax collector for Orangeburg county. After his collector had gathered up the $6,000 Moses gave one Hambright an order for it. The ignorant negro thinking that the Governor, like Kings, could do no wrong, cashed the order and returned it to the State Treasurer as a voucher. The Treasurer would not take it, and the boy was turned out of office, his mission being accomplished. His bond being worthless, the tax payers lost the money. This is the transaction for which Moses was indicted in Orangeburg county. The indictment was quashed in due time, however, the judge holding that the Governor could not be arrested for any crime until after he had been impeached by the Legislature. If the crime had been murder instead of robbery, the decision would doubtless have been the same. And yet this man Moses,

who has done this, not to mention a hundred things that were worse, is a candidate for re-election, with every prospect of endorsement by his party. And this is a sample of Republican rule in the South. This is what the great Republican party, the advocate of the civil rights bill, mixed schools and negro supremacy, the party of "great moral ideas," has done for a Southern State where its power was supreme. Oh, shame! where is thy blush!

The Comptroller-General of South Carolina in his official report states the astounding fact that for default in the payment of taxes in that State alone, 268,623 acres of land were forfeited to the State. In the county of Branfort alone, out of 2,300 farms 700 were forfeited to the State during the last year for taxes which the owners could not pay. The history of the world shows no such monstrous rate of taxation and increase of public debt all the time, as that of this State. It would ruin or destroy any people on earth.

To give you an instance of the amount of legal wisdom these judges bring to bear in their decisions, I will relate a couple of instances:

A darkey had killed a woman. It turned out in the evidence that he killed her in attempting to commit rape. The darkey had been indicted, as is customary, for murder in the first degree. The judge, another darkey, however, instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of "not guilty," and assigned as a reason that the prisoner killed the woman in attempting to commit a rape, hence the motive was not murder, and as it was a *woman* he killed, he could not be found guilty of *man*slaughter.

Another: A white man bought a piece of land. The deed recited the usual clause, "do hereby grant to A. B., his heirs, assigns, &c." The white man died and his heirs sold the property to a third party. In the meantime a negro squatted on the land. Suit was brought in ejectment to obtain possession of the land. The Socrates of wisdom, a negro judge, decided as the man to whom it was originally deeded and his heirs and their assigns had all had the land in turn, the provisions of the bill were fulfilled, the title had run out, and the negro squatter was entitled to possession and so decreed.

The treasury of this state is worse than bankrupt. The people are financially ruined, and heartbroken, and unless they obtain relief, all who can, must abandon their homes. And yet this man Moses and his government is called Republican and is upheld by the general government.

As an instance of the manner in which Gov. Moses retains his position, and keeps himself in office, I quote from a Charleston paper:

The Charleston *News and Courier* has collected a list of all the convicts pardoned, and it amounts during a period of only 19 months to the astonishing number of 421. Besides these there were 25 or 30 others who were pardoned in a batch, and no record was made of the performance. Of the 421, 21 had been convicted and sentenced for murder, 25 for manslaughter, 16 for rape, 5 for infanticide, 33 for burglary, 24 for arson, 12 for malfeasance in office, and the rest for less henious crimes. Every county official who has been sentenced for malfeasance in office has been pardoned.

Now, let us glance at the way the Republicans manage elections in one other Southern State, I refer to

ALABAMA.

In 1872 an United States Senator was to be elected from this State. The Legislature was elected that fall, and it was found that the Democracy would have two majority on joint ballot. Now see how nicely our Republican friends, having control of the Courts, worked this matter. On their way to attend the session of the Legislature, three Democratic members were arrested on the plea of making fraudulent returns. They offered any amount of bail, but it was refused.

This gave the Republicans a majority of one in the Legislature, and they met and organized and declared the seats of these three members *vacant*. Then, while these parties were being kept in confinement by a radical judge, they elected a Republican—Mr. Spencer—to the United States Senate, and a Radical Congress recognized this proceeding and he retains his seat to-day.

And so I might mention in detail every Southern State, with which the Radicals have anything to do. If I had a week at my command I could not mention in detail the many instances of fraud, criminal management and direct robbery with which Republican officials have been charged, and, in numerous instances, although proven guilty, retained in office, so I'll have to advert briefly

only to some of the most glaring cases. And first and foremost of these comes the

CREDIT MOBILIER.

This whole business from first to last has been foul with corruption. The Credit Mobilier, in brief, was a combination entered into by Thos. Durant, Oakes Ames and others, under a charter from the United States, by means of which they were enabled to rob the treasury of millions of dollars, in the building of the Union Pacific railroad. 'Twas a wheel within a wheel. This is not the way they define their combination, but it amounts to this after all. The workings of this company may be better understood, perhaps, by supposing that five of you gentlemen enter into partnership, and the partnership business needs a manufactory of some kind. Three of you—a majority—enter into an outside partnership to build the manufactory in order to reap the profits of the transaction, and then, by virtue of your being in the majority in the original partnership, let the contract in the name of that partnership to the outside partnership. This was the nature of the Credit Mobilier ring. A number of gentlemen became stockholders of the Union Pacific railroad, and obtained from Congress large grants of lands, United States bonds, and bonds guaranteed by the United States to aid in its construction. Then a number of these same stockholders formed an outside arrangement to contract for the building of the road under the name of "The Credit Mobilier of America." Then these same men as stockholders of the Union Pacific railroad, contracted to build the road and at a price enormously above the just cost of the work. Don't you see what a nice little arrangement it was. Thus these men, with scarcely any means at their command, were enabled to construct over a thousand miles of railroad, at the expense of the public treasury, and in the doing so, make themselves immensely rich at the same time. Things went along swimmingly for a while, until these greedy cormorants concluded that they were not making enough money in the transaction. So, in order to get Congress to pass such a bill as would enable them to have control of more money, and, consequently have more to put in their own pockets, Oakes Ames, who had gotten to be a kind of "head-quarter," commenced distributing Credit Mobilier stock to the members of Congress and prominent officials. The newspapers commenced to hint of bribery, fraud, &c.; then became more open in their charges and named such men as Colfax, Henry Wilson, Blaine, Dawes, Logan Harlan, Bingham, Kelley, Scofield, Patterson, &c., all bright and shining lights on the walls of Republicanism, as being implicated by receiving bribes in the shape of stock for Ames. Then came an investigating committee and consequent exposure, one of the most disgraceful ever known in the history of dishonest legislation.

And although when this exposure occurred these parties hastened to disgorge and explain, yet the fact that they received the stock remains, and there is no manner of question or doubt that if no law suit had been commenced, if no quarrel had taken place between the members of the "ring," every dollar of the Credit Mobilier stock placed by Oakes Ames would have remained in the pockets of the Congressmen to whom it was assigned. Nothing these parties can ever say or do will cover up the fact that they were tempted by the offer of Oakes Ames and the prospect of large pecuniary advantages to betray their trust as representatives of the people.

SANBORN-JAYNE.

Before leaving this branch of my remarks, I must pay my compliments to Ben. Butler's protege, one John D. Sanborn. In the general appropriation bill approved by President Grant on May 8th, 1872, there was smuggled in a section which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to employ not more than three persons to *assist* the proper officers of the government in *discovering* and collecting any money belonging to the United States, whenever the same shall be withheld by any person or corporation, upon such terms and conditions as he shall deem best for the United States. This was tacked on in the Senate by Frederick A. Sawyer, then a Senator from South Carolina, afterwards Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and fathered and pushed through in the House by Ben. F. Butler. This very same act and indeed the same clause of the act appropriated $4,800,000 for the pay of the regular assessors and collectors, whose duty it was to discover and collect these very same moneys. It may be noted here as a singular coincidence,

that this very same Mr. Sawyer was afterwards placed in a position to further this measure by being appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. You will also see that the power of the Secretary was unlimited as to the moiety he might choose to pay these agents; he could pay them one per cent. or one hundred per cent. as he might choose. And here it might again be noticed, as another singular coincidence, that shortly after the passage of this act, a contract was entered into between Mr. Boutwell, the then Secretary of the Treasury, and John D. Sanborn, by which agreement Sanborn was to receive one-half of all moneys collected by him. The coincidence consists in the fact that Sanborn was a special protege of Butler, who fathered the measure in the House, having been a spy for him during the war. This all looks very much as if there was a Credit Mobilier in this affair, in which the principal officers of the Treasury Department and some prominent Congressmen were stockholders.

Thus for doing that which it was the sworn duty of the assessors and collectors of the Government to do, and for which they are paid regular salaries, this man Sanborn and his cohorts, Jayne and others, received within three years in the neighborhood of $1,500,000. This is what is known to have been paid them. There is no telling how much has been collected by these men and pocketed, without any return whatever having been made to the Treasury Department.

The custom seems to have been for Sanborn to receive the money and transmit it to Washington at his convenience. He gave no receipts; he was not under bonds; and neither the Government or anybody else had the slightest guarantee of his fidelity.

These facts show that the offense of the Treasury Department has been deliberate, and they lead almost irresistibly to the conclusion that Sanborn has had a corrupt understanding with some person or persons in high official position. The Secretary of the Treasury gave the U. S. Collectors and Assessors explicit and repeated orders to give these men the use of their books and all the assistance in their power, and prohibited them from interfering in any way in any cases which Sanborn & Co. selected for themselves. And when they needed legal advice, the Solicitor of the Treasury was always ready to construe the law in their favor. And it is hinted that the exposure of these frauds is what caused our Republican friends, Mr. Richardson, Secretary, Mr. Sawyer, Assistant Secretary, and Mr. Banfield, Solicitor, to resign their respective positions.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

If I had time I would like to present to you in detail the mismanagement and corruption existing among the Republican officials of the city of Washington, as shown in the trial before the Committee of Congress last winter to investigate the affairs of the District of Columbia. It is sufficient to say that that investigation brought to light so many rings and jobs and so much mismanagement and corruption that Congress abolished the whole district government, and provided for the appointment of three commissioners to settle up the affairs.

And yet in the face of all the proof against Governor Shepherd, President Grant—who never deserts this class of men—appoints Governor Shepherd chief of the commission to settle up his own mismanaged affairs. It is proper to add, however, that the Senate properly and promptly rejected the nomination.

Another instance and I will leave this point. Whilst the investigation was going on, a Mr. Cluss, who was engineer of the Washington Board of Public Works, was summoned before the committee to give testimony. His testimony implicated in fraudulent transactions men who are known to be President Grant's intimate friends and associates. The committee wanted him to produce some papers from his office pertinent to the investigation, and set a time, a day or two later than his examination for him to do so. Shepherd & Co. in the meantime met and passed resolutions denouncing Mr. Cluss as a perjurer, and demanding of the President his removal. Well, he was removed, and when the day came for his further investigation, he had to inform the committee that he was no longer engineer, and so had no access to the papers they demanded.

GENERAL HOWARD.

The Secretary of War in a letter to Congress dated December 4, 1873, charged General O. O. Howard, who had charge of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land, with being charged with the sum of $278,573.66, for which he had filed no vouchers or made no return. The Secretary says: "In one item, stated

at upwards of $121,000 not accounted for, it will be seen that accounts cannot be produced, and no attempt to prove what has become of the money." Of the whole amount one item of $33,888.39 was claimed by colored claimants, who allege that they have not been paid their bounty pay, although the records of the Treasury Department show settlement of the claims, and vouchers have been filed by the Bureau as evidence of the payment.

General Holt, who published an article criticising the rulings of the court martial selected to try Gen. Howard's case, says that the evidence shows that $8,000,000 have failed to reach the rightful claimants.

Yet, despite all this, President Grant assigned Gen. Howard to the command of the Department of Columbia, headquarters at Portland, Oregon.

PUBLIC LANDS.

The following is the disposition of the public domain thus far appropriated for all purposes by the General Government:

	Acres.
Sales for cash to actual settlers	80,294,000
Sales for cash to all other persons	80,294,000
Total cash sales	160,588,000
Donations to individuals:	
For military service, and not assigned	3,000,000
For military services, and assigned to others	70,000,000
To individuals, being half-breed scrip, and assigned to others unlawfully	745,652
To homestead settlers	15,900,780
To States:	
Swamp and overflowed lands	60,000,000
Agricultural college grants	9,510,000
Sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections for schools	69,066,802
To aid internal improvements, but in some cases diverted to school purposes	13,669,671
To railroads:	
In States	50,000,000
Transcontinental and branches	39,000,000
Total donations	330,801,855
Aggregate sales and donations	491,450,855

PUBLIC LANDS YET REMAINING.

The amount of public lands unsold and unappropriated on June 30, 1860, exclusive of Alaska, was 1,018,202,609 acres, from which should be deducted the grant to the Texas Pacific road, 21,000,000 acres. Balance of public domain now unappropriated, 997,202,609 acres. It would not be safe to estimate the portion of this land fit for cultivation at more than one third of the whole. This would leave of public lands suitable for homes yet unsold and unappropriated 332,869 acres, the best portions of which are reserved for Indians. The other two-thirds are either grazing or mining lands or deserts.

It will be seen from the above that fully one-third of the public lands have been given to private parties or railroads.

HOW THE SOUTHERN STATES HAVE BEEN ROBBED.

As a sample of the economical manner in which Republicans mismanage the affairs of the Southern States, in which they have had full and complete control, I submit a statement which is authentic, showing the frightful manner in which the public debt of the States names, have increased. And it must be remembered that the valuation of the property liable for this debt, has decreased largely. The statement is as follows:

ALABAMA.

Debt and liabilities, July 1, 1861	$5,939,651 87
Present indebtedness, actual and contingent, including railroad bonds	38,381,967 37
Increase under Radical rule	$32,442,312 50

ARKANSAS.

Debt and liabilities in 1861	$1,036,951 87
Present debt and liabilities, actual and contingent, including railroad and levee bonds	15,761,265 62
Increase under Radical rule	$15,724,312 75

FLORIDA.

Debt in 1860	$221,000 00
Present debt, including railroad bonds, issued and authorized	15,763,117 55
Increase under Radical rule	$15,542,117 54

GEORGIA.

Debt and liabilities in 1860, about	$3,000,000 00
Present debt and liabilities, including railroad bonds, issued and authorized, deducting $6,000,000 deemed fraudulent	14,137,500 00
Increase under Radical rule	$11,137,500 00

LOUISIANA.

Debts and liabilities, January 1, 1861	$10,089,071 51
Debts and liabilities, June 1, 1871	11,194,473 91
Increase under Radical rule	$1,105,389 57

The excess of expenditures over receipts in this State for the year 1871 amounted to $9,345,733.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Debts and liabilities July 1, 1861	$9,699,500 00
Present debts and liabilities	34,887,467 85
Increase under Radical rule	$25,187,967 85

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Debt in 1861, approximate	$4,000,000 00
Debt in 1871, including bonds to railroads, and bonds in dispute as fraudulent	39,158,914 17
Increase under Radical rule	$35,158,914 17

MISSISSIPPI.

In 1860, no debt.	
Debt incurred under Radical rule, January 1, 1870	$1,796,971 30

TENNESSEE.

Debts and liabilities, October, 1861	$20,105,606 66
Debts and liabilities, January, 1871	15,688,263 16
Increase under Radical rule	$25,582,656 80

TEXAS.

In 1861, no debt.	
Present debt and liabilities, incurred under Radical rule, including railroad bonds, estimated	$17,000,000 00

RECAPITULATION OF ROBBERY.

Alabama	$32,142,312 50
Arkansas	15,721,312 75
Florida	15,542,147 54
Georgia	41,137,500 00
Louisiana	31,095,399 57
North Carolina	25,187,967 85
South Carolina	35,158,914 17
Mississippi	1,796,971 30
Tennessee	25,582,656 80
Texas	17,000,000 00
Total	$240,668,182 78

GREAT INCREASE OF THE EXPENSES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

As a matter of interest, and to show the extraordinary manner in which the expenses of the government have increased, I have prepared the following table, which shows the net ordinary expenditures from 1792 to the present time, taking every decade as an average. These expenditures do not include the public debt or its interest. The table is official, and is as follows:

1792	$1,877,903 63
1800	7,411,369 97
1810	5,311,082 28
1820	15,134,530 57
1830	14,229,533 33
1840	24,139,900 11
1849-'50 (fiscal year)	37,165,980 09
1859-'60 " "	69,010,062 58
1869-'70 " "	164,658,273 81
1872-'73 " "	180,188,636 90

I have also prepared a table giving a summary and comparative statement of expenditures in the several branches of the public service named in the fiscal years 1868 and 1873, respectively:

Branch of Service.	*Johnson President* 1868	*Grant President* 1873
Postoffice	$22,730,592	$29,084,941
Indians	3,988,353	7,051,704
Naval	16,288,244	18,296,733
Coast Survey	455,700	852,828
Survey of Public Lands	373,252	1,128,000
Surveyor General's Offices	95,209	414,135
Judiciary	723,378	3,826,131
Sub-Treasury	260,113	493,661
Miscellaneous	53,009,867	73,328,110
Total	$97,924,708	$135,376,307

The number of employees borne upon the civil list of the United States has almost doubled since 1860. I submit a table compiled from what is known as the "Blue Book," or the Official Register of the United States, which is issued once every two years. The table is as follows:

1859	14,527
1861	46,049
1863	47,375
1865	53,167
1867	56,113
1869	51,207
1871	57,605
1873	80,637

An increase in the last two years of twenty odd thousand.

This list does not include the laborers and general employees, but the civil list proper. To give you some idea of the manner in which this list is almost daily added to, I will give you one instance which will serve as a sample for a great many cases. There are five engineers regularly employed to run the stationary engine that heats the Senate chamber, at salaries ranging from $1,500 to $2,500 per annum, when two, at farthest, could do all that is necessary. The fifth one happened to be employed in this way: He had rendered some political service to a Republican Senator, and came to Washington to be rewarded with an office. Upon looking around, he found there were four engineers to do the work above stated. This seemed easy work and so he asked his friend, the Senator, to secure him a position in that corps, and it was accordingly done.

The Postoffice Department cost in 1868	$22,730,592 65
In 1874 the Postmaster General estimates the cost at	33,929,942 00

It will be observed that in 1868 less than $23,000,000 were sufficient, while for the present year nearly $34,000,000 are required—an increase of one-half. And this in the face of the allegation of the Postmaster General, that the abolition of the franking privilege would save several million dollars in the expenses of his department. And yet he asks nearly five million dollars more for this year than he expended in 1873, before the franking privilege was abolished. This is economy in the wrong direction.

It is true that the Republican party claims great glory for the abolition of the "franking privilege," but yet they have a system of "official stamps," which is used, or rather abused, in the same way as the franking privilege. I have Republican authority for this. Senator Lewis, the Republican Senator from Virginia, in a discussion on a proposition to allow the members to send free public documents to their constituents, made the following statement, which I quote from the *Globe:*

"Mr. Lewis—Allow me to make a suggestion to the Senator from Mississippi. He says the franking privilege was abused in the franking of political documents. I say that abuse has not been abolished yet. I have now in my room plenty of documents, not on government business, but electioneering documents, franked with the official stamp upon them by officers of the government."

EXPENSE OF GRANT AT THE WHITE HOUSE, COMPARED WITH OTHER PRESIDENTS.

The following summary of expenditures, which extends over three-quarters of a century, shows the enormous outlay for keeping up the Presidential Mansion, and the rate of "progress" for that time. During Mr. Buchanan's administration the cost was $94,900, while under General Grant it has reached $323,834. The items are classified under the names of furniture, repairs, fuel, attendants, grounds and greenhouse, fences, stables, and contingent expenses, but, if thoroughly sifted, they would be found to cover more domestic objects. That money can be thus illegally diverted has been shown by the erection of the President's stables (costing some $40,000) out of the appropriation made for the new Department of the State. The secretaries and clerks of the President are not included in this list:

Administrations.	*Expended on White House.*
John Adams, 1797-1800	$ 14,000
Jefferson, 1801-1808	14,000
Madison, 1809-1816	43,000
Monroe, 1818-1824	25,000
J. Q. Adams, 1825-1828	30,000
Jackson, 1829-1836	71,160
Van Buren, 1837-1840	39,240
Harrison and Tyler, 1841-1844	18,360
Polk, 1845-1848	35,038
Taylor and Fillmore, 1849-1852	37,265
Pierce, 1853-1848	100,623
Buchanan, 1857-1860	94,900
Lincoln, 1861-1864	108,735
Johnson, 1865-1868	184,500
Grant, 1869-1872	323,834

DEFALCATIONS.

The number of defaulters can scarcely be computed, and the amounts stolen and due the government runs up into the hundred millions. I can only mention a few prominent ones.

Major J. L. Hodges, Army Paymaster	$ 473,939 27
Joshua F. Bailey, Internal Revenue Collector, New York	1,140,000 00
Frank Soule, Internal Revenue Department	1,514,710 00
Sheridan Shook, Collector of Internal Revenue	1,043,547 60

I mention these four because they have been prominently mentioned in public prints. Hodges lost his amount in stock and real estate speculation; was tried and sentenced to ten years imprisonment, but was promptly pardoned out by Gen. Grant. Bailey had Geo. Opdyke and Henry Clews on his bond, and, although they are wealthy and amply able to refund the amount of the defalcation, yet no suit has been instituted to recover it. Shook was Collector in the time of President Lincoln, and then became a defaulter to the amount of nearly half a million of dollars, and although still a defaulter, he was reappointed to that important position by President Grant, and again became a defaulter for about the same amount. After this second defalcation he fled the country.

Last winter I introduced into the Senate a resolution for the purpose of ascertaining the number of delinquent Federal office holders, and the amount of their delinquencies, and the probabilities of recovering any part of it. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance, and after keeping it for some time they reported it back, with the recommendation that it do not pass, and

stating for a reason therefor, that it would take six months time and cost $75,000 to obtain the desired information. So you can form some idea from this report of the immense number of defaulters there must be, and the vast amount of money they must have taken.

I have given figures both as to the expense of the Government, and these defaulters, with but little comment, for the reason, that the facts and figures speak so plainly for themselves, but little comment is needed.

FINANCES.

The financial policy of Gen. Grant and the Republican party is driving nearly all the specie out of the country. As a matter of public interest, I append a statement of the exports of specie from the port of New York to foreign ports since January 1, for the period of 23 years:

1874	$32,819,183	1862	37,601,372
1873	36,062,699	1861	3,258,976
1872	53,161,710	1860	29,718,553
1871	49,883,767	1859	49,396,196
1870	27,037,193	1858	15,715,719
1869	20,291,770	1857	28,216,610
1868	58,750,660	1856	20,533,531
1867	36,758,393	1855	19,268,728
1866	51,291,597	1854	20,200,011
1865	18,669,751	1853	12,581,821
1864	30,618,015	1852	15,596,508
1863	25,821,265		

President Grant under date of June 4, 1874, in his letter to Senator Jones, says:

"*First:* I would like to see the legal tender clause, so-called, repealed; the repeal to take effect at a future time, say July 1st, 1875; this would cause all contracts made after that date, for wages, sales, etc., to be estimated in coin. It would correct our notions of values. The specie dollar would be the only dollar known as the measure of equivalents.

When debts afterward contracted were paid in currency, instead of calling the paper dollar a dollar and quoting gold at so much premium, we should think and speak of paper at so much discount; this alone would aid greatly in bringing the two currencies nearer together at par.

"*Second:* I would like to see a provision that at a fixed day, say July 1, 1876, the currency issued by the United States should be redeemed in coin on presentation to any assistantant treasurer, and that all the currency so redeemed should be cancelled and never reissued. To effect this it would be necessary to authorize the issue of bonds payable in gold, bearing such interest as would command par in gold, to be put out by the Treasury only in such sums as should from time to time be needed for the purpose of redemption.

"Such legislation would insure a return to sound financial principles in two years and would in my judgement work less hardship to the debtor interest, than is likely to come from putting off the day of final reckoning. Provided that from and after the date fixed for redemtion, no bills, whether of national banks or of the United States, returned to the treasury to be exchanged for new bills, should be replaced by bills of less denomination than $10, and that in one year after resumption all bills of less than $5 should be withdrawn from circulation; and in two years all bills of less than $10 should be withdrawn."

It will be seen that the President thought that by July next the Legal Tender would be repealed, &c. This would make all debts then owing, whether due or not, payable in gold, and all business thereafter done in coin also. The President would follow this up by calling in bank notes under the denomination of five dollars, and in less than two years by callling in, and prohibiting the use of bank notes of a less denomination than ten dollars. The repeal of the Legal Tender Act, and the withdrawl of all bank notes under ten dollars would bring distress and ruin upon the country and people generally. While this policy would greatly increase the wealth of the bond and coin holder, it would decrease the value of articles of trade or use, so that the dollar in gold or bond would buy perhaps twice as much as now. Those owing debts would consequently, have a hard time to pay them. On the other hand, as opposed to General Grant's policy, we find leading Republicans in the West and South, such as Senators Morton, Logan, Ferry, (of Michigan,) &c., saying "more paper money and no time named to redeem." So you see, the Republicans, as a party, have no fixed policy on finances. The great majority of the Democrats, myself among the number, say, pay less interest to the bond holders, and make banking free to all. Let the business and increase of the country bring the greenbacks and gold gradually together, and specie payment will soon necessarily follow.

THE DISCRIMINATIONS MADE BY THE GEOERAL GOVERVMENT AGAINST THE SOUTHERN BORDER AND WESTERN STATES, AND IN FAVOR OF THE MIDDLE AND NEW ENGLAND STATES.

The revenue collected by the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, was:

From imports or custom duties	$188,089,521 70
From internal revenue	113,729,311 11
From circulation of national banks	6,880,037 67
From miscellaneous sources	25,289,330 66
Total receipts for the year ending June 30, 1873	$333,738,201 67

It will be seen from the above that more than one-third of the entire revenue of the government is collecte directly from the people. This is so arranged by a Republican Congress and administration that but little is collected from the Eastern or New England States, but the most of it is collected from the Southern, Border and Western States. I will give you a few examples to show the unjust manner in which the internal revenue is collected from the Border and Western States, while the Northern and New England States are favored, not only in the levying of the internal revenue, but in the protection of her manufactories at the expense of the Southern and Western States.

During the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, West Virginia paid in internal revenue to the United States	$ 149,661 59
Maine and Vermont, both Republican and New England States, paid but	290,556 13
Excess over both States	$ 159,105 11
West Virginia has paid into the United States treasury since 1863	$6,697,921 50

Another example is as follows:

Virginia paid in internal revenue last year	$7,145,799 29
All the six States of New England paid	5,575,554 13
Excess over the whole of New England	$1,868,245 16

Ohio and Illinois paid nearly as much internal revenue as the whole of New England, and the two great states of New York and Pennsylvania combined.

This shows conclusively that large duties are laid upon imports to favor the North and especially New England and her manufactories, but when internal revenue is to be raised, it is so levied as to come largely from the South and West, and but a small amount from the North. We are taxed to favor New England manufactories by way of duties on imports, making every manufactured article we use cost us an average of 33 per cent more than they would but for the tariff on imports. This is unjust to the South and West, and ought to be remedied.

GENERAL GRANT.

It would hardly be becomming in me to close this part of my remarks without making some mention of President Grant. I will not be so discourteous, even if the National Republican Committee in their late address, did slight him. One of the great objections to President Grant and his administration is their dangerous tendency towards *Centralization*.

The whole drift of things, in every department of the Government, under the present administration, is towards centralization. To do whatsoever a President or a Congress will, is becoming practically, the supreme law of the land. It is fatal to local self-government, and the supremacy of the people. It is calculated, and unless changed its end will be to subvert all the powers and forces of the Government to the control of one man. Is this to be the end of our republican form of government? Was it for this the Revolution was brought about by our forefathers?

As a proof of the tendency of the present administration towards centralization I have but to call your attention to its interference in the State elections in the Southern States, and then note the steps taken by the party in power in Congress in this matter. In 1871 they passed an act the title of which was "An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes." The avowed purpose of that act was to control the election of members of Congress. The operations of this law were confined, however, to the cities of the United States having more than 20,000 inhabitants. This was put out as a feeler, and seeing that the people submitted to this indignity, they tried, in 1872, to go further, by introducing a bill by which the Federal Government would have the power to appoint supervisors of election for every voting precinct throughout the United States, and this bill passed one House, and if it had become a law it would have placed the whole machinery of the elections throughout the United

State, under the control of the Federal Government. This, with the power of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*—the only safeguard of the liberties of the people—at the will of the President—which right the Republican Congress gives him whenever it is necessary to further its purposes—would make him more powerful than the Czar of Russia. Look to it that ye elect such men to places of power as will jealously and zealously guard these safeguards of the people. This tendency to centralization is the most ominous sign of danger in the political horizon. It is easy enough if you are deprived of your money, to retrieve your fortunes; but if your liberties are taken, if your republic is destroyed and a monarchy more dangerous and powerful than any of the monarchies of Europe erected on its ruins, you are lost, hopelessly, irretrievably lost.

The purpose of many of these laws passed by Congress to take away from the States the regulating of their own elections has been, as they claim, in order to secure a full and free vote, and to prevent riots and disturbances. The true purpose, however, is to silence and overawe the people, and by forms of law, and under pretext of keeping the peace, to control the elections in favor of the Republican party, and put it out of the power of the people to assert their rights. We must check this tendency—the people must arouse and meet impending dangers—or history will repeat itself in the sad fall of ours, as fell the Republics of Greece, Rome, and others.

Another thing showing the tendency to centralization is the effort of the dominant party to establish a system of Postal Banks, and Postal Telegraph. This may be very well for monarchial governments, but it is a dangerous and fatal step in a republic. Another thing is the measure of national schools proposed by Mr. Hoar. Another is the passage of Carpenter's bill to allow all suits for libel to be brought to the District of Columbia. For this bill is but a law to gag the press, and to prevent their correspondents, if possible, by harassing suits and otherwise, from publishing anything detrimental to the Republican party or its leaders. It is a bill to put the press of the country under the control and supervision of Congress, disguise it as you may. Another and most grave tendency towards Cæsarism, is the support Grant is receiving for the

THIRD TERM.

Although he has never said he would be a candidate for re-election, he has never committed himself in any form, not to be a candidate. He has had plenty of opportunities in his inaugural, his messages and his public addresses, to declare his position on this subject, but has never said a word, one way or the other. The fair inference therefore is, that he has an eye to the third term. He not only shows this by his silence on the subject, but in nearly all of his acts and appointments to office, you will see his utter disregard for anything but self. Witness the appointment of Simmons last winter to the important office of Collector of the Port of Boston, in opposition to the wishes of nearly every respectable and influential man of that city, as well as the whole Republican delegation from that State, with the exception of Ben Butler. Witness his retaining in office, brother-in-law Casey, Durrell, Murphy, &c.

Another great objection to the President is that his decisions and acts are to suit partisan purposes. Look at his decisions in the case of the State of Louisiana, and then in the case of Arkansas. In Louisiana he upheld Kellogg, who was placed in office by Judge Durrell and displaced McEnery, who had been elected by the people. In Arkansas he reversed his Louisiana decision by upholding Baxter, when the courts had decided in favor of Brooks.

Now, while it seems hardly appropriate to a political speech, I cannot forbear drawing a distinction between the administration of General Grant and some of his predecessors, in reference to money made while in the Presidential chair. The only man who has ever made money out of the Presidential chair is General Grant. Thomas Jefferson was obliged to sell his library to Congress, and to establish a lottery for the disposal of other portions of his property in order to raise money after he left the White House. Mr. Madison was a bankrupt and had to dispose of his property and reside with his son-in-law in New York, where he died. President Andrew Jackson, that embodiment of sterling, honest democracy suffered so much by his eight years residence in Washington, that he had to borrow money from his friends when he retired to the Hermitage in 1837. These men each held the office for eight years, but then it was not the custom for every

prominent office-holder to present the President with a certain portion of his income in the shape of silver ware, lands, &c., neither was it the custom for Presidents to receive gifts from parties who owed their official positions to them. You see it had a look strongly like bribery, and Presidents in those days scorned anything that even looked in that direction.

But I find the theme of national politics so prolific, that unless I drop it summarily and at once, I'll have no time to talk on State matters.

WEST VIRGINIA—THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Those opposed to the Democratic party in this State are always prating about the new constitution and its defects, and praising up the old constitution and its beauties. They never mention what those beauties are, but I suppose they refer to the beauties of registration, test oaths of all descriptions, of perjury and fraud. They say the new Constitution accomplishes nothing. What did the old one accomplish? Its principal accomplishment was to keep the Republican party in power by disfranchising nearly everybody politically opposed to them. You will find if you sift this opposition to the Constitution, that these complaints have their origin as a rule from some of the "outs;" from some sorehead who lost a lucrative office by the adoption of the new Constitution. By turning to this much-abused instrument you will find a number of improvements on the old one. As you are all doubtless conversant with the Constitution, I will not take up your time by reading it, but refer you to some of its prominent points:

REGISTRATION LAW.

In the old Constitution there was a provision providing for the registration of voters, and authorizing the legislature, in its discretion to pass all sorts of test oaths, such as the voter's, suitor's, teacher's and lawyer's test oaths. The legislature availed itself of the permission afforded by this provision and passed the most stringent laws of this kind. The infamous acts of the registrars and boards of registration appointed under this act by the Republican Governors of our State are a matter of history, and I will not harass you by going into a recital of their shameful proceedings. These acts, however, are indelibly impressed upon the minds of the people, and the remembrance of them too vividly and deeply engraved ever to be eradicated. The new Constitution forbids the passage of any such laws, or even any laws looking in that direction.

I refer you to the following provisions of the Constitution:

SEC. 12, ART. IV. "No citizen shall ever be denied or refused the right or privilege of voting at an election because his name is not or has not been registered or listed as a qualified voter.

SEC. 43; ART. VI. "The Legislature shall never authorize or establish any board or court of registration of voters."

If there were no other improvement on the old, this alone ought to save the new from condemnation, for no matter, if in the ups and downs of politics, the Republicans do get the upper hand of us, and again secure political control of the State they can never grind us under their despotic heels again; they can never disfranchise us, and ostracise us, by taking away our right of franchise, or our right to earn our living, by following our professions or our right to come into court and collect our just debts and defend our rights. No, never, never.

The new Constitution provides for biennial sessions of the legislature of forty-five days, which will be a great saving to the State. It saves the cost of one session of the legislature every two years, which alone amounts to some $25,000; it saves largely in the cost of printing, and saves the cost of one election every two years.

It provides for a more efficient and satisfactory organization of the whole State system, and yet reduces the number of officers, and consequently reduces the expenses largely.

It gives a poor man a chance to rise in the world by allowing him to set apart a homestead of the value of $1,000, and personal property of the value of $200, which shall be free from his debts.

It increases the revenues of the State by providing that negroes shall pay a poll-tax. The old Constitution released them from this by having no provision in it compelling its payment.

It increases the revenues of the State, and prevents fraud on the part of our sheriffs and other collectors, by a provision debarring the legislature from the passage of any act relieving sheriffs or other collectors, or their sureties, from the payment of moneys due the State. Under the old Constitution many thousand dollars were lost to the State by the

passage of acts releasing sheriffs and collectors and their bondsmen from the payment of monies which had been collected, and for which said sheriffs, &c., were delinquent, or had become liable.

It provides that no local or special laws shall be passed in certain cases. (See Art. VI, Sec. 39.) Under the old Constitution many special laws were passed to benefit special parties, and in one instance the title of a piece of land was given to a favorite, to the detriment of other claimants, by a special act of the legislature.

There is another thing in favor of the new Constitution which should bespeak for it, at least, a trial. The old Constitution was ratified in a time of war, when hundreds, nay thousands, had no opportunity to express their opinions thereon. The new Constitution was ratified in a time of peace, when everybody that chose to do so could exercise his prerogative to vote, and they did so, white and black, Federals and Confederates, Radicals, Democrats, Neutrals, or by whatever political term the voters were known, all had a right to express their sentiments and they did so, and the Constitution was ratified. Now see the difference in the votes.

In the election on the old Constitution there were cast in all 17,238 votes.

In the election on the new Constitution over 80,000 votes were polled.

So, you see, over 60,000 more voters expressed an opinion on the new than the old Constitution, and it received a majority. Why then this constant prating about the defects of the new Constitution?

I will now call your attention to section 7 of article 10, which provides that "county authorities shall never assess taxes in any one year, the aggregate of which shall exceed 95 cents per $100 valuation," except for the support of free schools and the payment of debts in existence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, "unless such assessment, with all questions involving the increase of such aggregate, shall have been submitted to the vote of the people of the county and have received three-fifths of all the votes cast for and against it." Under Republican administration the taxes were frequently from $2.00 to 3.00 on the $100 valuation. Comment is unnecessary.

Another good point in the new Constitution may be found in section 35, article 8, which reads as follows:

"No citizen of this State who aided or participated in the late war between the government of the United States and a part of the people thereof, *on either side*, shall be liable in any proceeding civil or criminal; nor shall his property be seized or sold under final process, issued upon judgments or decrees heretofore rendered or otherwise, because of any act done according to the usages of civilized warfare in the prosecution of said war by either of the parties thereto."

Under Republican administration the bitter feuds and animosities engendered during the late war were kept constantly alive by all manner of suits, civil and criminal, based upon acts committed by the soldiers in both armies. This was all wrong. If we are to live together as brothers in a common union these things should be forgotten, or if not forgotten at least forgiven. So the Constitutional Convention very properly inserted the foregoing section in the Constitution, and it was ratified by the people.

There are a few other complaints made by the "outs" against some of the laws framed under our new Constitution. They are mainly three, the County Court system, the road law and the school law.

COUNTY COURTS.

There has been a great hue and cry raised as to ths County Court system and its practical workings. Now, not being a lawyer, I have no practical experience to relate in this connection, but I have this to say, that all this fuss is nonsense, for the reason that the majority of voters of any county in this State can shuffle off this system and adopt a new one at their will and pleasure. And I notice as a somewhat remarkable fact that although most of this tirade against County Courts comes from Republican sources, yet in not a single county where the Republicans predominate has a move been made to change the system. They have the power to rid themselves of this fraud, as they term it. If it is so unwieldy; so expensive; so objectionable in every way, why don't they rid themselves of it as quickly as possible? The Constitution is explicit on this point. I refer you to section 34, article 8:

"The Legislature shall, upon the application of any county, reform, modify or alter the County Court established by this Constitution in such county, and in

lieu thereof, with the assent of a majority of the voters of said county, voting at any election held for that purpose, create another court or other tribunals, as well for judicial as for police and fiscal purposes, either separate or combined, which shall conform to the wishes of the county making the application, but with the same powers and jurisdiction herein conferred upon the County Court and with compensation to be made from the county treasury."

The truth of the matter is that these gentlemen who worry themselves so much about this matter and keep up such a continual howl about the County Court system and its manifold disadvantages, do it for partisan, political purposes and that alone.

ROAD LAW.

As to the road law I have only this to say: It may have its imperfections, but I defy any Legislature to frame a road law that will please all classes of people. 'Tis an impossibility. Yet if it worked all right under Republican rule, what is the matter with it now? For it is substantially the same now as then, with some slight amendments for the better. And it has this alternative advantage: You can have your choice by either working the road a certain number of days, or else by raising the money by taxation to work them. "You pay your money and take your choice."

FREE SCHOOLS.

A great deal of capital is attempted to be made out of the cry of "the Democracy opposed to the free school system," &c. *The Democratic party cannot by any possible reasoning be charged with hostility to free schools. On the contrary, the Republicans, by their efforts to force mixed schools on the people, show their enmity to the present free school system, for they must know that the passage of the civil rights bill or Hoar's school bill will inevitably and most certainly kill our free schools.* The Democracy engrafted in our Constitution the following section: "The Legislature shall provide by general law for a thorough and efficient system of free schools." (Sec. 1, Art. 8.) Not may, in their discretion, provide, but *shall* provide. Does this look like hostility to free schools? By reference to the report of Hon. Charles Lewis, then Superintendent of Free schools, for the first year of Democratic rule in this State, we find that instead of retarding the interests of free schools, the interests of free schools were promoted; the general school fund was largely increased; a larger number of teachers, male and female, were employed than the year preceding, under Republican rule.

I quote from his report of 1872 for the year 1871. Any other years of Democratic and Republican rule will bring about the same result. I take 1870 and 1871 because it is the last of Republican and first of Democratic rule.

TABLE A.

Receipts for year ending August 31, 1871, compared with those for the year ending August 31, 1870.

Receipts.	1870.	1871.	*Increase.*	*Decrease.*
State school fund	$118,598 70	$212,711 38	$94,192 68	.....
Township levies	388,576 91	384,100 59	5,523 68	.....
Other sources	183,955 82	35,258 47	.....	$17,978 38
Total	$690,691 13	$632,069 44	$172,038 31	.....

TABLE B.

Salaries paid Teachers for 1871, as compared with 1870.

Teachers.	1870.	1871.	*Increase.*
Male Teachers	$298,885 04	$438,824 80	$139,939 76
Female Teachers	91,187 15	130,939 04	39,751 89
Total	$323,242 22	$569,763 84	$246,521 62

Male Teachers	$298,885 04	$438,824 80	$139,939 76
Female Teachers	91,187 15	130,939 04	39,751 89
Total	$323,242 22	$569,763 84	$246,521 62

Male Teachers	$298,885 04	$438,824 80	$139,939 76
Female Teachers	91,187 15	130,939 04	39,751 89
Total	$323,242 22	$569,763 84	$246,521 62

I have compiled these tables with great care from the official report mentioned above, and whilst they show a gratifying increase in the collections for school purposes and a generous distribution of the funds for the legitimate use of free schools, on the other hand they show a gratifying decrease in the per cent. paid for collections, &c. So you will see that this talk of the Democracy being opposed to free schools, and going to crush out the free school system, &c., is nothing but talk after all. Before leaving this subject, I will also call your attention to the fact that since the Democracy have obtained control of the "Irreducible School Fund," it has increased nearly one-third, and that there is now in the Treasury to the credit of that fund, over $300,000. I think $312,000 against $229,000 in 1870.

WHAT THE DEMOCRACY HAS DONE FOR THIS STATE SINCE 1871.

October 1st, 1870, was the end of the last fiscal year—the Republicans had control of this State. Let us examine the state of the treasury then. The then Governor stated in his annual message to the Legislature in January, 1871, "Balance in the treasury October 1st, 1870, $213,479 58," but failed to state that this amount all belonged to the school fund, and there was then an actual deficit in the General State Fund of $92,562 16. This deficit was made up as follows:

Money taken from, (and used,) belonging to General School Fund	$31,968 47
Money taken from, (and used,) belonging to Irreducible School Fund	25,560 17
Money appropriated by former Legislature and paid after October 1st, 1870	32,093 82
Making a grand total of	$92,562 16

In 1871-72, we had to make appropriations to pay the following deficits, left us as legacies by our Republican predecessors:

Construction of Asylum for the Insane, made in 1870	$13,392 91
John Frew, public printer	6,660 00
Preparation of the Code of 1878	2,140 00
Printing the Code of 1868	10,000 00
Fees to Johnson & Faulkner in the suit between Va. and W. Va., relative to Jefferson and Berkeley counties	5,000 00
Guards of Penitentiary (see Report of 1871, page 54)	1,350 89
Current expenses of University at Morgantown	3,000 00
Total	$41,184 80

So you see the Republicans left a deficience, appropriated or expended by

TABLE C.

Expenditures for 1871, as compared with 1870, for schools.

	1870.	1871.	Increase.	Decrease.
Teachers	$290,761 84	$373,812 42	$107,258 38	
Secretaries of Boards of Ed'n	6,996 84	6,190 99	193 85	
Assessors	1,861 61	1,274 60		$ 600 01
Commissioners for collecting	16,005 30	12,355 32		3,650 18
Constables	19,288 10	17,009 90		1,978 00
Total	$335,913 77	$410,643 21	$107,452 23	$6,222 79

It may be noticed just here that although there were over $172,000 more collected in 1871 than in 1870, as shown in Table A., yet the commissions paid for collecting in 1871 were nearly $3,000 less than in 1870. This speaks for itself.

TABLE D

Total expenditures for all school purposes in 1871, as compared with 1870.

	1870.	1871.	Increase.	Decrease.
Total expenditures for schools	$335,913 77	$410,643 21	$107,452 23	$6,222 79
Total expenditures from Irreducible School Fund	23,757 72	22,912 81		844 91
Total	$359,671 49	$433,556 02	$107,452 23	$7,067 70

them of $137,039.71, for us to pay, all of which has been paid, without increasing the taxes one cent, and we had a balance of the General State Fund in the treasury July 1st, 1871, of $87,512.51, and the Auditor informs me, by letter that we will have a good balance belonging to the general State fund at the end of the present fiscal year. We have not taken from the school fund either whenever money was needed, as did our Republican friends.

Between 1868 *and the end of the fiscal year* 1870 *the Republicans received from the United States Government over* $300,000 *on account of money paid out by the State for home guards, &c., and in* 1870 *they received from the B. & O. railroad, for back taxes, the sum of* $70,000. *Yet although these large sums were in addition to the regular revenue, they left a deficit for the Democrats to pay in almost every branch of the State government, viz: General State Fund, General School Fund, Irreducible School Fund, Asylum for the Insane, Penitentiary, University, &c., &c.*

For 1873 the general school fund distributed was $219,519.22, which is larger than any previous year, and $40,000 or $50,000 more than any year under Republican rule.

We have put the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution at Romney in successful operation and made additions to the building. We have increased the appropriations for the construction of the asylum at Weston and the penitentiary at Moundsville, and those buildings are now fast approaching completion.

The Asylum for the insane is being run at less expense *per capita* than formerly, and it is said at a less expense than any similar institution in the United States. I have examined into this matter and find that whilst the highest rate *per capita* per week in the various asylums of the United States is $8.68 and the lowest $3.46, West Virginia is but $2.45.

The cost of feeding the prisoners at the Penitentiary under Radical rule in 1865 was, *per capita*, per day, 55 cents; under Democratic rule now, 14 76-1000 cents. The average daily expense *per capita* for the five years of Radical rule including 1870, was 37 cents; for the four years of Democratic rule, 18½ cents. Balance in favor of Democratic rule, one-half, or 18½ cents.

This would make a difference in the feeding of one hundred men for one year of $6,752 in favor of the Democracy.

WHAT YOU HAVE GAINED BY SENDING DEMOCRATS TO CONGRESS.

In 1871 for the first time our State was partly represented in Congress by Democrats. Up to that time West Virginia had paid over five millions of dollars into the national treasury, and not a dollar was received in turn from the general government. Since you sent Democrats to Congress our State has received appropriations as follows:

Monongahela river, June 10, 1872	$ 25,000
" " Mar. 3, 1873	66,000
" " June, 1874	25,000
Great Kanawha river, Mar. 3, 1873	25,000
" " " June, 1874	25,000
Parkersburg Custom House and Postoffice, February, 1873	150,000
Surveys of James River and Kanawha canal, about	40,000
Surveys of New, Big Sandy, Guyandotte, Twelve Pole and Little Kanawha rivers, about	40,000
Total	$396,000

WEST VIRGINIA WAR CLAIMS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

Last winter I introduced in the Senate a bill providing that West Virginia and her citizens, should be paid their just claims for articles taken and destroyed, and reimbursed for the destruction of churches, school-houses, court-houses, bridges, &c., by the Federal troops during the late war. During the session I made a talk in the Senate in advocacy of this bill, which was published, and to which I refer you for details. This bill is still pending, and the people will send in their just claims, with proof of their authenticity, so that some idea can be formed of the amount of damages sustained by them. I think we can get the United States to pay them.

JAMES RIVER AND KANAWHA CANAL. HARPER'S FERRY, &C.

In addition to this, your Democratic representatives have secured a favorable report from the Senate Transportation Committee on the James River and Kanawha Canal, and there are now in the field a large party of government civil engineers making surveys to find the most direct, practical and economical route from the Ohio or Kanawha river to the Potomac river. This route must

go through our State from East to West and will be of incalculable value to us.

We are in a fair way to have government aid in some form, extended to this enterprise, and with good working members from this State, we may not only secure this improvement, but also have a freight railway built accross the State by the National Government. We are promised, also, a post-office and custom-house at Charleston, the Capitol of our State, which we hope soon to obtain. We are also in a fair way to get the Harper's Ferry muddle straightened. The Government will probably take the property back, and erect thereon a Government paper mill, to manufacture all the paper used by the government. This would give employment to a large number of hands many more than used to be employed at the arsenals.

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN ADDRESS, OR CHARGES AGAIST THE DEMOCRACY.

Let us glance now at the charges made against us as a party by our opponents. The Republican Executive Committee of this State, through the Chairman, J. W. Mason, Esq., has issued a campaign address, under date of June 4, 1874. Gov. Stevenson (of the *State Journal* of Parkersburg), who is high Republican authority, in the issue of his paper of July 30, says the address "may be regarded then as the semi-official voice of the party itself." The charges or complaints made in the address against the Democracy have been sifted down by Gov. Stevenson, and found to be as follows:

1. To reform the judiciary.
2. To abolish the county court system, and
3. The restoration of the township system, substantially as we had it under the old constitution. These three points cover about the ground recommended in the address of the committee.

Let us examine the address for a moment. It occupies two or three columns of the *Journal*, and says but little. Not a single specific charge is made, but it indulges in a kind of a rambling talk about the new constitution, the judiciary, county courts and townships. It does say that the number of office-holders in the State has been 'increased under Democratic rule, but we know this to be an error. Why? I can recollect, and so doubtless can you, when under Republican rule, there were more offices in some townships than voters, and some men held four and five offices. *It required then thirty-seven office-holders to run a township. It now requires less than one-third of that number.*

The address advises Republicans in counties where they have majorities, to "put none but Republicans on guard," but where the Democrats have majorities, they unite with Jacob Democrats and any one else. The address compliments Gov. Jacob, and indirectly invites his friends to unite with them and they will divide the spoils of office.

I have examined the address right carefully, and would advise you all to read it, for I am confident you must come to the same conclusion that I did, namely: *That the Democratic party must be about right, or else the Republicans in a campaign address, could have made out a better case against it.* I think the true opposition of the Republican party to the Constitution is that they are forever debarred by its provisions from the enactment of voters', suitors', teachers' and lawyers' test oaths.

THE RESOURSES OF WEST VIRGINIA.

When you consider the extent of territory of West Virginia, she has no equal in this country, or in any other, in point of mineral wealth. We have about 15,000 square miles of good No. 1 coal which is more than any other State in the Union can boast of, and more than all Europe combined, including the immense coal area of England. In iron ore, salt, petroleum oil and timber our riches cannot be calculated, so great are they. Nearly every acre of our soil is well adapted for agricultural purposes or for grazing. These assertions being true, as they are, what else is necessary to make us fulfill our destiny and become a great and powerful State? The answer is plain and simple—development. And this, with low taxes, an economical administration of State affairs, a generous invitation and hearty welcome to capitalists and laborers, and a liberal encouragement to immigrants to make our State their home, will surely be brought about.

LEGISLATIVE EXPENSES.

I have made some examination into the expenses of the legislative bodies of States under Republican rule, and have selected several of about the average wealth and population of West Virginia,

and find that we are far behind the times. The table is as follows:

Louisiana	$695,772
Arkansas	324,761
California	277,767
Mississippi	241,192
South Carolina	210,641
North Carolina	161,432
Alabama	112,690
Iowa	110,186
Florida	78,336
Connecticut	67,440
West Virginia—average under Democratic rule about	40,000

These figures I have taken from the most reliable official returns I have been able to procure. Included in the expenses of West Virginia is the cost of the long session. Our bi-ennial sessions hereafter will probably cost not more than half that amount, which would be but $10,000 per annum.

PUBLIC PRINTING.

Much has been said and done concerning the public printing in this State, and there is now a suit in the State courts in which the Governor and Public Printer are principal parties. The Governor says more money has been paid for printing than ought to have been, and that frauds have been committed. The Public Printer answers that these charges are not true, and that he can and will prove them false before any court. And even if it be as the Governor alleges, he (the Governor) can, or ought, to say but little, for the reason that many of the bills were signed by himself before the money could be drawn from the treasury. Upon examination I find, comparing the population now and then, the public printing in our State costs but little more than under Republican rule. The average now is about $20,000 per annum. Under Republican rule it was about $15,000. When compared with the cost of printing paid by the national government, or by States under Republican rule, ours is greatly less. I will give you the figures in two Republican States for example:

In South Carolina last year the public printing cost $589,905.22. I obtained these figures from the official report of the Comptroller General of that State. In Louisiana the public printing cost, in 1870, $371,444, and that is about an average of the cost for that State.

TAXES IN WEST VIRGINIA COMPARED WITH OTHER STATES.

The great cry of oppressive taxation is raised by our opponents and they claim that parties are leaving our State to avoid excessive taxation. As I have already shown, our taxes now are no more than under Radical Rule, although we have had their large deficits to meet, indeed in many counties and districts the taxes are much less. As a matter of interest, I have prepared a table, showing the assessible property of our State and the taxes levied thereon for a year, and comparing this with twelve representative States then under Radical rule, four from the East, four from the West and four from the South. The figures speak so plainly for themselves and explode this fallacy of excessive Democratic taxation so completely that I forbear comments. The table is compiled from official sources, and is as follows:

NAME OF STATE.	*Assessable Property.*	*Taxes Levied.*
West Virginia	$ 140,000,000	$ 1,722,000
Eastern States.		
Massachusetts	1,591,983,000	24,922,000
New Hampshire	149,000,000	3,255,000
Vermont	102,548,000	1,547,000
Maine	204,263,000	5,318,000
Western States.		
Iowa	392,515,000	9,055,000
Nebraska	54,584,000	1,027,000
Illinois	482,899,000	21,825,000
Kansas	92,125,000	2,673,000
Southern States.		
Louisiana	253,371,000	7,060,000
South Carolina	183,531,000	2,776,000
Mississippi	177,278,000	3,736,000
Arkansas	94,528,000	2,866,000

So you will see our taxes are one-third less than the average of these twelve Republican States and much less than the average of all the States in the Union.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION IN WEST VIRGINIA.

And now a word or two as to the outrage commited upon the people of the First and Second Congressional Districts of this State in Congress last winter. I refer to the action of Congress in reference to the contests of Martin *vs.* Hagans and Wilson *vs.* Davis. I have no doubt the details of this infamous and hitherto unheard of proceeding are fresh in your minds, as they were thoroughly discussed in all the papers of the State at the time, yet I cannot forbear making a brief reference to them. It was one of the most partisan proceedings I ever heard of, but I suppose they were only following the principles laid down by Thad. Stevens, of whom the following anecdote is related:

"Some years ago, in a contested election case before the House, a friend of one of the contestants spoke to Mr. Thaddeus Stephens on the subject. 'Oh, don't argue the thing, said Mr. Stevens, What is our fellow's name? Let us vote for him.'"

There was at one time a belief or

rather a hope, that the Radical majority in the House, being considerably over two-thirds, would act fairly in these cases, but that hope was soon dispelled. And although the Democratic contestants had not only the right and law on their side, but in addition, the prestige of the majority report of the committee on Elections, consisting of eight Republicans and three democrats, yet the Republicans disregarding every principle of right, justice and law, under the leadership of Butler, gave Davis and Hagans their seats. Let us see for a moment how matters stood in our own district. I do not mean to discuss the question of the legality of the August or October elections. That would take up too much time, and besides it is not necessary. I simply want to freshen your minds on the matter. In this district both the party conventions were so well convinced that August was not the day for the election, that they adjourned without making a nomination. Then it was that Hagans saw his opportunity, and, a few days before the August election, distributed some tickets with his name on for Congress, and was voted for in four counties, receiving a little over 3,000 votes, and all of this number of votes, with the exception of some 500, were cast for him in his own county, Monongalia, and the adjoining county of Preston. When it is remembered that there are eighteen counties in this district, and that the district is largely Democratic, the fact that a man receiving some 3,000 votes—and that in four counties only—out of a voting population of some 25,000 or 30,000, is now representing that district in the Congress of the United States, is enough to make us hang our heads in very shame. As a matter of interest, I append the vote of the two elections:

At the August election, Hagans was voted for in only four counties and received 3,111 votes.

At the October election, Martin was voted for in every county in the district, and received 5,998 votes. He had two Republican opponents, Wisner, of Berkeley county, receiving 1,665 votes, and Farnsworth, of Upshur county, receiving 1,321 votes. Mr. Boteler, of Jefferson county, received 619 votes, and there were scattering 169 votes.

RECENT ELECTIONS.

Our Republican friends tell us that the Democratic party is dead. Well, I corpse at any rate. The truth of the matter is that the Republican party is on the decay. It is being buried so deep under an accumulated mass of corruption, fraud, robbery, deceit and treachery that I doubt if it is ever again politically resurrected. My assertion is fully corroborated by all the recent elections. Turn where you will—east, west, north or south—and you will see the vast and growing tidal wave of political reformation sweeping over the land. Turn where you will and you will see largely increased Democratic majorities, and vastly diminished Republican majorities. For proof of what I say I have but to refer you to the late elections in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Virginia, Texas, Wisconsin, Arkansas and Mississippi, the town elections in Ohio and New York, and the elections just a few days ago in Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. In Tennessee the civil rights bill was made a direct issue, and the result was an overwhelming victory for Conservativism and Democracy. In North Carolina we elect seven out of eight Congressmen, and have 10,000 majority in the State, when two years ago it went for Grant. And so it goes all over the country. 'Twould be a sad commentary on our Democracy if, in the face of all these victories, our little State allows a Republican triumph by dissensions and bickerings in our own ranks. But it will not be so. I have too much confidence in the good sense and wisdom of our party to insult them by thinking so.

In Arkansas, which is now represented in the United States Senate by two Republican Senators, and which has been considered for a long time a Republican State, the recent election stood in favor of the Democracy by a vote of 5 to 1. But a few years ago the Republicans boasted that the Democrats had no Governor in the Northern States; indeed in 1870 we had but six Democratic Governors in the whole Union. Now we have seventeen. Does this look like being in the death throes of dissolution?

ORGANIZATION.

Organization is an essential element of success. Organization and united action mean a certain victory for the Democracy this fall. The Jacob party, as it is called, met in Charleston in January last to effete an organization. They met again in Clarksburg during the session of the Federal Court there for the same purpose, but it is said but four or five

Charleston they promised the people an address stating their platform of principles, but they have failed to keep their promise. They also appointed a State Executive Committee, most of whom refused to act. Although this shows that the faction is about played out, yet it also shows an attempt to keep up their organization. The Republicans have organized and sent out their address, and why not we?

It will not do for us to go upon the assumption that the Republican party is doing nothing because they do not seem to be aggressive. Their idleness is but in seeming. They are awaiting the results of our conventions, and if there are any appearances of disaffection you will see how readily they will take advantage of it. If they find us united they may make nominations, but it will only be done to keep up their organization, not with any hope of success. But if we have disaffection in our ranks, and, trusting to our recognized superiority of numbers, grow careless, they will be quick to use their chance, and in counties where there is any hope at all, will run straight candidates, and where they are in a hopeless minority they will join the disaffected and thus work us evil. You will thus see that it behooves us to be on the alert to make good nominations, and to present a united front to the enemy. Their only hope lies in our dissensions, if we have any. There are or should be but two parties in this fight—Democrats and Republicans. Principles and not men should be our motto, and if we select our best men to represent our principles, and frown down all bolting and disaffection, our victory will be an easy one. That this will be the case, I have no doubt in my own mind, but it will do us no harm to guard ourselves in the manner I have suggested.

Every Democrat who loves the principles of his party, and desires to see those principles triumphant, must acknowledge the fact that harmony is essential to success. Now, this is essentially true in nominating conventions. Of course, when there are half a dozen candidates for the same office, but one can be chosen and the other five are consequently disappointed. But how foolish and wrong it is to then set up the cry of trickery and fraud, and bolt the nomination. If you submit your claims to a convention, you should abide by the decision of the majority.

How shall we gain the victory in this county and State? The answer is plain and simple—organize. We have the power if we but concentrate and utilize it. Attend all the primary meetings, and then there will be no pretext for crying "unfair," when some one else than ourselves or some particular friend receives the nomination. *Above all set your foot right square down on bolters.* This cry of "ring" is made simply to disorganize you and break up your party organization, and the man who takes part in a convention, and then because some one else gets the nomination, set up a howl of "ring," "clique," &c., and announces himself an independent candidate, deserves to be politically ostracised.

Happily the disaffection that has existed in our ranks has now an existence in but very few counties, and is now almost forgotten, and cannot long exist. Most of the disaffection existed only in name at any rate. The "Camden men," as they were called, consisted of those who thought much more of party traditions, represented by a nominating convention, than of any man, however great. Many of those who were called "Jacob men," doubtless believed they were fighting an improper nomination, much more devotedly than they were following his personal or political fortunes. But this is all past and need not now be recalled. We are all fighting for the same desired end now. We are all thoroughly devoted to the great principles of our party and unalterably opposed to radicalism in all its forms.

CLOSING REMARKS.

The Democratic party seeks to revive no dead issues, but stands by its principles, supports the Federal government in all its constitutional authority; regards at this day as Jefferson did in his day that the true province of a Republican government be the protection of rights and not interests, defends the reserved rights of the State and people, and opposes centralization that would impair or destroy the constitutional rights or independence of the other departments, as the executive and legislative departments under their rule, in over-slaughing the honest opinions of the Supreme Court, by increasing their numbers and in the appointment of new Judges, who are subservient to the executive and legislative will; holds that nearer approximity that can be made to universal free trade, the greater will be the advantages of the Federal government to the people.

Intervention by the Federal administration in State policies the advancement

of its intrigues, is hostile to freedom and purity of elections, an insult to popular intelligence, and merits the indignant reprobation of the people jealous of their rights.

We invite co-operation and welcome to full fellowship in political actions of all patriotic citizens who agree with us in these principles and are willing to unite and establish their beneficient rule in the Government of the State and nation.

In the path which the Democratic party treads, we see the footprints of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams and the heroes of the Revolution; of Jackson, Clay, and all the giants of the generation just gone before us: and while it keeps that line of march, and bears the flag of the Constitution and the Union, we can follow it with pride and unfaltering trust.

We ask the members of all parties to unite with us in denouncing the infamous series of frauds which have disgraced every man connected with them, or who has profited by them; which have covered with infamy the party countenancing them, and ought to make every man who attempts to defend them blush with shame.

The Democratic party is now the only party true to the Constitution and the Union, and against centralization. We must not ask what men have been, but what they are.

We love the principles of our party—those principles that have been handed down to us, sanctioned by the most unselfish and most able patriots who have lived, and under the application of which our country has enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity which it has ever known.

Let us, therefore, stand united, harmonious and confident of perfect success, and will surely gain a great victory in the approaching campaign; such a victory as will redound to our credit as individuals, and to the credit and good of the people of the whole State.

I have endeavored, fellow-citizens, in my rambling way to deal briefly with some of the important charges against the Republican party, and they may be summed up as follows:

The civil rights bill.

The mixed school bill.

Credit mobilier.

Sa[illegible] frauds.

Gen. Howard's robbery of the Freedman's Bureau.

Discrimination in collecting internal revenue against the Border States.

The large and unnecessary expenses of the Government.

The defaulters to the Government, and the easy way in which they are let off.

The state of affairs in Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama and other Southern States under Republican rule.

The way these States have been robbed and plundered while under Radical rule.

The affairs of the District of Columbia and the way they have been mismanaged.

The tendency of the government, under its present rulers, to the greatest of all dangers, centralization.

Grant's administration, his extravagance; his nepotism; his third term tendency.

I have also endeavored to show you what the Democrats have done in this State since obtaining control, and the results of their labors are as follows:

The payment of large deficits left by our Republican predecessors, and a full treasury without increase of taxation.

Our public works are nearly completed and in a prosperous condition.

The cost of running our public institutions largely reduced, in some instances one-half.

We have not advanced taxation in the State, and when compared with other States under Republican rule, we are very far below them.

Our legislative expenses are greatly below those States under Republican rule, of our average wealth and population, and in some cases not one-tenth as much.

We have largely increased both the Irreducible School Fund, and the Annual and Distributable School Fund.

We have secured appropriations for the benefit of our State from the government to the amount of nearly $500,000.

We have provided for bi-ennial sessions of the Legislature, which will largely reduce expenses and consequently taxation, &c., &c., &c.

I owe you an apology for detaining you so long, but the subjects of which I have been speaking are so numerous, and so much can be said of them, that I could find no good place to stop any sooner. I thank you for the kind attention you have paid me.

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